Memory and Place in Divided Nicosia

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ABSTRACT

This paper will explore the nature of memory in divided Nicosia and its expression in urban space. The focus will be on the old city, contained within its 16th century Venetian Walls and divided by the United Nations Buffer Zone, as a symbolic location in the Cypriot imagination, and as a prime example of the manner in which the Cyprus conflict is remembered and forgotten. The aim is to illustrate how the conflict and associated memories affect attitudes about place by looking specifically at Nicosia's walled city as a site of memory and oblivion. This paper will investigate the way in which the old city is used, on both sides of the divide, as a symbol to represent both the conflict as well as unity. It will seek to question the manner in which its location in the imagination, as it is remembered from the outside, is affected by changes that occur inside of this place; a space dense with personal manifestations of memory and with the lived experience of division. The paper will conclude by setting up the distinction between the manner in which the old city is remembered from the outside, and they lived reality of division as experienced within the walls.

Introduction

Cypriots' memories of place and of the city of Nicosia have been impacted by the opening of the border in 2004, and the subsequent increased exposure to the other side, as well as increased access to histories and memories which were previously inaccessible. These divided histories and divided memories, are now in a state of encounter, while at the same time the division of history and memory persists - and along with it, Nicosia maintains its border, albeit a more permeable one. This is a critical time for memory in Cyprus - and we can see this played out on the field of the city - in the manner in which it is remembered, imagined, represented, and narrated. This paper will explore the nature of memory in divided Nicosia and its expression in the urban fabric of the old city, contained within 16th century Venetian Walls and divided by the United Nations Buffer Zone. This paper will investigate the way in which the old city is used, on both sides of the divide, as a symbol to represent both the conflict as well as unity. This paper will seek to question the manner in which its location in the imagination, as it is remembered from the outside, is affected by changes that occur inside of this place; a space dense with personal manifestations of

memory and with the lived experience of division.

This paper will argue that there is a paired relationship between the Cyprus conflict and attitudes about place in Nicosia. This is a synchronic relationship between inside and outside - between remembering and forgetting - where one continually informs the other. The conflict has caused a shift in attitudes about the city. It has resulted in extreme manifestations of forgetting, in how the walled city is used as a place, and extreme manifestations of memory, in how the walled city is used as a symbol. This paper will attempt to tease out this tension in two ways; first by looking at how the Cyprus conflict has caused the walled city to be both intensely remembered, while at the same time abjectly forgotten. And second, by examining how the material reality of the walled city today affects the creation of new memories about place and about the conflict. This material reality is of a city heavily marked by the conflict, which, in a way, is the physical manifestation of the conflict. Likewise, imaginative constructions of the old city are also marked by the conflict.

In many ways, Nicosia is the classic example of a divided city - split neatly down the middle by an international border that divides the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Looking at the city in plan, we see the perfect circle of the city's historic core and the violent rupture of the Buffer Zone - a no man's land that disrupts this ideal geometry. This perfect circle is a massive stone structure, three miles in circumference, containing eleven heart-shaped bastions, surrounded by a moat. These walls are an excellent example of Renaissance military architecture that was built by the Venetian rulers in 1567, who constructed their perduring walls around a living town, in existence since pre-Roman times. Demolishing the existing medieval city walls and outlying structures, they constructed this new shell to protect and contain the existing town center. There is an interesting tension, then, in existence since the conception of the walls between the container and that which is contained; between the planned and the organic. Likewise, the dynamics of remembering and forgetting in divided Nicosia hold a similar tension.

After the Venetians were overthrown by the Ottomans in 1571, the city remained ensconced within, with the newly settled Turkish population generally living to the north of the old riverbed, and the Greek population in the south. Other ethnic minority groups such as the Armenians settled near the western gate. With the arrival of the British in 1878, the development of the city began to extend outside of the walls as they built colonial administrative buildings and new residences to the south and the west of the old city. It was during this period that the Venetian walls began to be punctured, first with a new opening to the south with the building of a

narrow wooden bridge, which became Eleftheria Square, to link the new city to the old.[1] Nicosia remained largely concentrated within the walls until the process of suburbanization led to the development of new areas outside of the city starting in the 1950s.[2]

But the physical alteration of the fabric of the city that has had the greatest impact on the development of its form is the interruption that runs through its historic center. This division, first instituted in 1958 with a wire fence termed the Mason-Dixon line, gelled in 1964, and became permanent with the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974.[3] Since 1964, in the longest peace-keeping mission in history, the United Nations has retained control of the Buffer Zone which divides the island. While the borders opened in 2003, it was not until 2008, with the opening of the Lokmaci Crossing at Ledra Street, that it was possible to cross the Buffer Zone in the walled city.[4] In fact, the Buffer Zone has glibly divided the walls in two, with five bastions falling in the north, five in the south, and one that has been incorporated into the Buffer Zone. The division of the city and the establishment of the Buffer Zone helped to accelerate suburbanization and now the city, on both sides of the divide, sprawls with suburban areas outside of the city walls. As will be outlined below, the form, spaces, uses, and populations of the old city have largely been defined by this operation of division.

The Walled City as a Site of Memory and Forgetting

The form and fabric of walled Nicosia as we see it today is not only the result of the play of history on the physical landscape, but also involves more complex associations and attitudes about the city. There is a crucial link between the memory of the conflict and attitudes that are linked to symbolic constructions of the image of the walls. With the building of the Venetian Walls in 1567 the city of Nicosia was based on an ideal form, a geometric abstraction, but division distorted its natural geometries and the

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[1] The development of the city has been well researched and documented up to the end of the colonial period and independence in 1960. See: Danilo Demi, *The Walled City of Nicosia : Typology Study* (Nicosia: The United Nations Development Program, 1997), Kevork Keshishian, *Nicosia, Capital of Cyprus, Then and Now* (Nicosia: Moufflon Book and Art Centre, 1978), Panos Leventis, *Twelve Times in Nicosia, Cyprus, 1192-1570* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 2005) and F. S. Maratheftis, *Location and Development of the Town of Leucosia (Nicosia) Cyprus* (Nicosia: Nicosia Municipality, 1997).

[2] Michael Attalides, *Social Change and Urbanization in Cyprus : A Study of Nicosia* (Nicosia: Social Research Center, 1981).

[3] Vangelis Calotychos, Peter Hocknell & Yiannis Papadakis, "Introduction: Divided Nicosia", *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* (Vol. 8, No. 2, 1998), p. 152.

[4] See Olga Demetriou, "Freedom Square: The Unspoken of a Divided City", *Hagar Studies in Culture, Polity, and Identities* (Vol. 7, no. 1, 2007) for a discussion of the contentious process of opening this crossing point through a series of negotiations between the two sides which lasted for five years. The Nicosia Master Plan Team played an important role in this process, often acting as the *de facto* negotiators between the administrations and militaries of the both sides.

center became instead two peripheries, and the periphery splintered off into several fragmented centers. The urban form of the city today, the uses and residents in the walled city, are the result of this dramatic rupture. Following the division of Cyprus, the center of the walled city became the edge of Lefkosia and of Lefkoşa. The center, now a border region, drew peripheral urban functions to its two new edges. Carpenters, furniture makers, car mechanics, and a variety of other trades have moved into the center of the old city, settling into abandoned buildings and using them as workshops. There are many empty lots and derelict buildings in old Nicosia - a condition unusual for a historic city center.

Most commercial uses cluster around the main north-south axis that runs along Ledra Street from Eleftheria Square in the south to Kyrenia Square in the north. This corridor along Ledra Street might be said to be the main 'outsider' space - one of the few areas in the old city that is used by Cypriots who live outside in the newer parts of the city. That is not to say that there are no other commercial areas in the old city, rather, away from Ledra Street there are many scattered commercial establishments and social spaces that are mainly used by migrants and others looking for an alternative to the mainstream. The ring of parks and parking lots that encircle the walled city, serve as a kind of 'seal' around the old city, further contributing to its isolation from the larger urban area. Other areas used by 'outside' Cypriots are the two neighborhoods renovated by the Nicosia Master Plan - Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa, with a significant number of Greek Cypriots living in the latter neighborhood. This is a significant departure from other areas of the old city which feature a large amount of low income housing as old and gracious buildings in the center have, over the years, been divided up and rented out. Largely occupied by migrants, these areas of low income housing generally overlap with areas of dilapidation, where the effects of time and a lack of care and maintenance of these buildings can clearly be seen. There is the sense that the old city has been neglected - relegated to the edges of contemporary urban life in Nicosia.

But, as in all discussions about memory, we must underline the intertwined nature of memory and forgetting. Thus, it is not at all surprising that this forgotten place also contains places that still are very important in terms of memory such as religious sites like the Archbishop's Palace and the Selimiye Mosque, as well as places that are important in the national imaginations such as sites related to the EOKA movement and the former residence of Dr. Fazıl Küçük, the first Turkish Cypriot Vice President. Additionally, a large part of the work of the Nicosia Master Plann (NMP) has focused on the rehabilitation of old buildings and their reestablishment as cultural centers. A major focus of their work has been on attracting Cypriots back to the old city, both as residents as well as users of social and cultural spaces in the city. The old city, then, presents a physical location in which to

examine the dynamics of remembering and forgetting in divided Cyprus. It must be emphasized that attitudes about the old city are intimately linked with the way that the Cyprus conflict is remembered, and with the selective forgetting of certain historical periods.

Nicosia's walled city today is to a large extent populated by foreign migrants rather than Cypriots. In the Greek Cypriot south the old city's population is 55% migrants,[5] and in the north this number jumps to nearly 70%[6] In order to understand these numbers, and the significance of demographics in Cyprus and in Nicosia we have to look briefly at the history of division. While Cyprus has had a long history of migration, including more groups than Greeks and Turks, these migration patterns have changed significantly in recent decades. Large changes to global economics following the collapse of the Soviet Union led to a rise in immigration to the Republic of Cyprus in the 1990s. Ethnic Greeks from the former Soviet Union, known as 'Pontiacs", as well as migrants from South and South-East Asia, Eastern Europe, and the Caucasus began to enter to Cyprus for work. Additionally English language educational institutions attracted foreign students. These immigration patterns have affected the composition of the walled city. A striking example of this, the Phaneromeni elementary school in Lefkosia's walled city has a student body that is 90% foreign nationals.[7]

Large-scale migration to the north began much earlier, and has been of very different nature than that to the south. The first wave of immigrants from Turkey began to arrive immediately after the war in 1974, at a time when many Turkish Cypriots had left the island. An agreement was entered into with the Turkish government, and many migrants from Turkey were granted property and Cypriot citizenship. This practice was stopped by the late 1970s due to international pressure. A second wave of immigration occurred in the early 1980s as professionals, skilled, and semi-skilled labor came to Cyprus in search of economic opportunities absent in Turkey. There is a lot of resentment from the Turkish Cypriots towards the Turkish immigrants who have "taken over" the old city, yet it must be noted that the Cypriots abandoned the old city in the 1980s following the passage of a law that made new construction within the walls difficult. At this time new development on the outskirts, as well as a desire for more modern and spacious apartment style accommodation, led many Turkish Cypriots to move outside of the walls. New construction to the north of the old city resulted in an increased demand for construction laborers, and since Cypriots were unwilling to do this work, contractors began to bring in laborers from Turkey, mainly from the Southeast. At first many workers were

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[5] UNOPS, *Report on the Socio-Economic Survey in the Walled City - Greek Cypriots* (2004).
[6] UNOPS, *Report on the Socio-Economic Survey in the Walled City - Turkish Cypriots* (2004).
[7] Demetriou, op.cit. in note 4.

housed on the construction sites, but after the construction boom of 1990s / 2000s this was no longer possible and they moved into the old city. Old homes, including Ottoman mansions, were turned into *pansiyon*, or hostels, for these workers, fueling the Turkish Cypriot suburbanization process.[8]

The fact that Cypriots, for the most part, are not present in the old city indicates some degree of forgetting of this place. The presence in the city of dilapidated housing and peripheral urban functions like workshops and light industry indicates this as well. Where the current uses and the demographic composition of the old city indicate forgetting and distance, the renewed popularity of Ledra Street and of the residential neighborhood of Chrysaliniotissa, as well as the efforts of the Nicosia Master Plan to rehabilitate cultural sites indicates the reemerging presence of the old city in Cypriot memory. So, in the uses of the walled city we witness the manifestation of the phenomenon of forgetting, yet, at the same time there is an unwillingness to let go.

We can see this most clearly when we begin to pay attention to the way that the graphic of the walls is used as a symbol by Cypriots on both sides of the divide. It must be emphasized that memory is largely informed by forgetting - by what people choose to forget. This association is well established from Nietzsche's notion of "active forgetfulness,"[9] instituted in order to avoid remembrances that would be painful to Freud's discussion of the involuntary yet purposive forgetting of early childhood memories. Like the ancient Greek mythical pair of Mnemosyne and Lesmosyne, these two processes *require* each other.[10] Opposite yet interdependent, this fulcrum of memory that is the walled city is for many Cypriots a complete void. The old city is populated mainly by foreigners, and many Cypriots rarely venture there. Yet, a void or an absence can still be a site of significance in memory. Cypriots' memories are informed by the iconic location of the imagery of the broken circle of the walls; it is recognized as symbolically important, yet they do not participate in the lived experience of the division of the city - largely unconnected to the reality of the divide outside of their suburban context.[11]

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[8] Rebecca Bryant and Mete Hatay, "The Jasmine Scent of Nicosia: Of Returns, Revolutions, and the Longing for Forbidden Pasts", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* (Vol. 26, No. 2, 2008), pp. 423-449.

[9] For Nietzsche "active forgetfulness" was the capacity to forget "willfully and for a purpose- so as to erase, or at least to cover over, the scars which repeated remembering would only turn back into open wounds. Such willed forgetting is the counterpart of the enforced remembering which Nietzsche detects in societies anxious to ensure rigid conformity to law on the part of their members." Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 7.

[10] Mnemosyne was the goddess of memory, and her sister Lesmosyne presided over forgetting. Ibid., pp. 7-12.

[11] The opening of the Lokmaci crossing at Ledra Street has made an impact on Cypriot's use of the old city. It must be noted that while 57% of Greek Cypriots said that they visit the old city

We are reminded of the fact that memory is divided in many ways. There is not only the division of official memory between the north and the south, but also the division of the memory of the city as a symbolic space as compared to the lived memory of division that is created by being physically aware through the senses. Where the dynamics of forgetting can be illustrated by the current uses and population of the walled city today, we can look to the manner in which the image of the walls is being used as a symbol, by both sides, in order to begin to understand the dynamics of remembering that are also connected to this site.

The Venetian Walls appear to be universally recognized as the symbol of the unified city, always rendered as an inviolable whole, which is how they appear in *both* municipalitys logos. In the north Lefkoşa's logo consists of the Venetian Walls encircling a segment of a Mevlevi tekke[12], a symbol of Nicosia's Ottoman past. 1958, the date of the official founding of a separate Lefkoşa municipality, is written below the tekke. Thus the Turkish Cypriot municipal logo contains an ethnic and religious symbol, yet ironically houses them within the unbroken city walls, which are themselves the symbol of the unified city. Lefkosia's logo consists, again, of a graphic of the Venetian walls, but this time the center is occupied by a dove, said to represent a desire for peace and reunification. The website of the Greek Cypriot municipality additionally exhibits the words "The Last Divided Capital in Europe" below this logo - again using the symbol of the unified city.[13] Additionally, a combination logo - a collage of the tekke and the dove within the walls - was spray painted onto walls and pavements on both sides of the city as part of the 2005 *Leaps of Faith* art exhibition. Thus the visual heritage of the city walls has been enlarged to include graffiti of this combination logo which is still to be seen on both sides of the city. Like graffiti, the image of the walls is to be seen everywhere - in a number of logos for organizations and clubs, promotional literature, and even in advertising campaigns.

The harnessing of cultural identity in order to foster loyalty to the national community or state has been well researched and documented in many countries.[14] In particular Rudy Koshar has traced how the formation of

more frequently since the opening, only 34% of Turkish Cypriots reported the same. David Jacobson, The Opening of Ledra Street / Lokmaci Crossing in April 2008 (Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus Center, 2009). There is much more ambiguity on the part of the Turkish Cypriots who feel that the old city is being "colonized" by "settlers" from Turkey. See Bryant & Hatay, op.cit. in note 8, for a discussion of Turkish Cypriots reluctance to live in the old city while at the same time nurturing a deep nostalgia for it.

[12] A tekke is a gathering place for members of a Sufi brotherhood known as the Mevlevi order.

[13] See Yiannis Papadakis, "Nicosia after 1960: A River, a Bridge, and a Dead Zone.", *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition 1,* (Spring 2006), p. 3, for a more detailed discussion of these municipal logos as well as of other nationalist symbols in the city.

[14] Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1890* (Berkeley,

a German national identity in the late 1800s was nourished by the sale and circulation of images of historic sites in the form of photographs, mugs, and playing cards. The creation of this common language of historical imagery was intended to unite "Germans" from different backgrounds to their Kaiser and to each other.[15] Neil Leach has discussed the role of buildings as "the vehicle through which the fantasy structure of the homeland is represented," where the nation symbolically projects itself onto a screen embodied in the environment, and then sees itself reflected back in this environment.[16] However, in case of Nicosia the same physical embodiment of cultural identity, the cultural heritage of the walls, is being appropriated by two different nations. The use of the walls in the logos of both municipalities begins to raise some interesting questions about the nature of memory in divided cities.

The peripheral uses and the non-Cypriot populations that exist today in the old city, as compared to the widespread use of the symbol of the walls, places the walled city as both a site of remembering and forgetting. Current memory politics in Cyprus are a good example of the interrelatedness of remembering and forgetting. These two functions are inextricably linked, so while the walled city is for some Cypriots a void, it is also an important focus of ethno-national memory. Both sides have co-opted the symbol of the wall, even though its interior remains forgotten.

Memory from the Outside and Memory on the Inside

The previous discussion should have made clear that even for Cypriots who do not live in, or indeed do not often visit, the walled city, it still holds an important symbolic location. Due to a number of factors including its associations with a past that has been idealized, a form that is associated with notions of utopia, and certain spatial characteristics that are supportive of memory - it has become an important symbolic site; one that exists as a symbol from the *outside.* Although Cypriots may not be physically present in the old city, it is still occupied by their imagination. According to Bachelard, "space that has been seized upon by the imagination cannot remain indifferent space subject to the measures and estimates of the surveyor. It has been lived in, not in its positivity, but with all the partiality of the imagination."[17] But there is a distinction between *outside* and *inside.* Cypriots

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LA, London: University of California Press, 2000); Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1991)

[15] Koshar, Ibid., p. 25.

[16] Neil Leach, "Erasing the traces: The Denazification of Post Revolutionary Berlin and Bucharest", in Neil Leach (ed.), *The Hieroglyphics of Space: Reading and Experiencing the Modern Metropolis* (Routledge, 2002), p. 88.

[17] Gaston Bachelard*, The Poetics of Space, Translate from the French by Marias Jolas – with a new Foreword by John R. Stilgoe* (Boston: Beacon Press Books, 1994).

who live *outside*, or away from the walled city, are less exposed to the many spatial manifestations of division that are to be found *inside*, especially in and along the Buffer Zone, which affect memory. The connection between memory and the city works both ways; the city is imagined and remembered in certain ways. But, at the same time, they lived experience of the urban fabric - shaped and marked by the Cyprus conflict - affects individual memories as well.

For Marita Sturken, the production of memory is facilitated by *technologies of memory,* cultural products including art, media, and memorials that are used by people to "renarrativize" their own memories. This is of major importance in Nicosia, because it is through these *modulations* that memory starts to leak out of the official historical constructions of the conflict. They define the visual background of peoples' daily existence, and the outsider who stumbles into the old city is immediately confronted by them. These *modulations* operate on two different levels. The first is the manner in which the presence of the Buffer Zone affects the environment as experienced by people through the senses. The bodily experience of movement from the north to the south is defined by the Buffer Zone, which can only be bridged at one point, Ledra Street, in the walled city, after queuing and passing through a checkpoint where passports are examined and stamped. Also affected is movement east-west through the city, parallel to the Buffer Zone - an orienting feature on map, yet a space of disorientation while actually moving through the city.[18] In fact, like the history of the Cyprus Conflict itself, it must be examined in turn from each side, along with a map for orientation, in order to make any sense of one's location in the city. The fact that movement through the city is altered, and currently so much informed by the division of the city, is quite important in terms of memory and its construction, which must always be related back to the body.

According to Edward Casey, "body memory is the natural center of any sensitive account of remembering. It is a privileged point of view from which other memorial points of view can be regarded and by which other memorial points of view can be regarded and by which they can be illuminated."[19] These body memories are crucial in terms of orientation. Casey suggests regarding that body that; "unless *it* feels oriented in place, *we* as its bearers are not going to feel oriented there either. If our body does not feel at home in the world, we shall almost certainly experience *Heimatlosigkeit.*[20] This is why I have placed such stress on the way the lived

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[18] Casey, op.cit. in note 9, pp. 147-195 on *body memory* where he discusses habitual body memories as being deeply *orienting.*
[19] Ibid., pp. 147-48.
[20] *Heimatlosigkeit* can be defined a homelessness or rootlessness.

body familiarizes us with regard to place; for this familiarization, more than any other single factor, brings about the conviction of being at home in the world."[21] In our daily lives, we pick up habits - habits which become engrained in our bodies as body memories. These include daily rituals such as automatically reaching for a coffee cup, but, more importantly, in terms of the city and urban memories, they become a part of how we use and move through space.

Michel de Certeau writes about the sensations that are experienced by the body in relation to place; "Places are fragmentary and inward-turning histories, pasts that others are not allowed to read, accumulated times that can be unfolded but like stories held in reserve, remaining in an enigmatic state, symbolizations encysted in the pain or pleasure of the body."[22] Most of us have experienced the phenomenon of returning to a town that we have not been to for years, such that we have no conscious, surface memory of the place. Yet, when we arrive there, the body takes over and its memories begin to guide and walk us through the town - we are surprised to discover that we do have some built-in recognition of the place. Thus, body memory as a kind of habit is also important as a lived form of memory, memory that is unconsciously employed. According to Ricoeur, what separates habit and memory is that habit is acquired through and incorporated into the living present. It is unmarked and unremarked upon as past. Memory, on the other hand, consists in a reference that is made to the anteriority of something that was previously acquired – it is marked.[23] Bergson refers to habit in the same vein where the lesson learned "is part of my present, exactly like my habit of walking or writing; it is lived and acted, rather than represented."[24] It is the body that is capable of this "instantaneous recognition…without the help of any explicit memory image."[25]

But, these memories ingrained in the body are important for more than just daily activities or to the inattentive movement through spaces. What is of critical importance here is the *connection* between habit and what Bergson refers to as 'pure memory'; "The bodily memory, made up of the sum of the sensori-motor systems organized by habit, is then a quasi-instantaneous memory to which the true memory of the past serves as base. Since they are not two separate things, since the first is only, as we have said, the pointed end, ever moving, inserted by the second in the shifting

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[21] Casey, op.cit. in note 9, p. 195.

[22] Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), p. 108.

[23] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 24-25.

[24] Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, translated by Nancy Margaret Paul & W.Scott Palmer (Mineola New York: Dover Publications Inc., 2004), p. 91.

[25] Ibid., p. 109.

plane of experience, it is natural that the two functions should lend each other a mutual support.[26] So, the way that the body experiences division in Nicosia - through movement through the checkpoints and the disorientation of the Buffer Zone - is quite important because it is the body that carries these memories. And while movements and habits are unconsciously enacted, it must not be forgotten that, as Bergson contends, this body memory is the present manifestation, as action, of the 'true memory', and "it is from the present that comes the appeal to which memory responds, and it is from the sensori-motor elements of present action that a memory borrows the warmth which gives it life." Due to the interdependence of the two, we must not underestimate the importance, in terms of memory, of the human body moving through the divided city.

The second manner in which these *modulations* operate is through the signs and symbols that manifest in the vicinity of the Buffer Zone - establishing and reinforcing nationalistic legends and myths in the very fabric of the city. Places can be made to hold certain significance related to the collective memory of a group, community, or nation. For this operation of memory the role of place, then, must be related back to the established importance of the relationship between memory and image, where memory returns to us in the form of images.   From Plato's introduction of the *eikon,* to which our memories are attached, to Husserl's *Bild and* Bergson's *memory image,* it has been impossible to separate memory from image. For Bergson, it is the survival of images in the memory that is the key in the operation of recognition.[27] If suddenly, through the mistiness of time a memory reappears, this means that we had forgotten it. The fact that one is now able to recall or recognize this memory means that its image had survived. For Bergson, images are central not just to memory, but also to the perception of the current situation which one encounters: "Perception is never a mere contact of the mind with the object present; it is impregnated with memory-images which complete it as they interpret it. The memory-image, in its turn, partakes of the 'pure memory,'[28] which it begins to

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[26] Ibid., p. 197.

[27] Research in cognitive psychology supports the importance of the relationship between images and memory. Allen Paivio's 1969 experiments in the "verbal learning lab" demonstrated that one of the best predictions of how easy a word would be to remember was given by the extent to which subjects reported that it gave rise to an image. Experiments by Bugelski, Kidd and Segmen in 1968 found that a very good way of learning to associate a pair of words was to form an image of each and imagine the two interacting. "whether images 'existed' or not, instructions to use them appeared to have a marked effect on learning."   Allan Baddeley, *Human Memory: Theory and Practice* (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc. Ltd., 1990), p. 98.

[28] Bergson refers to 'pure memory' as underlying memories that have not been actualized or brought up to the surface of our consciousness. This is memory that "is pure from all admixture of sensation, is without attachment to the present, and is consequently unextended." Bergson, op.cit. in note 24, p. 181.

materialize, and of the perception in which it tends to embody itself."[29] So images from the past always penetrate and infiltrate our present. For Ricoeur it is the work of *recollection* that puts "pure memory" into images. Through this operation, we move "from the virtual to the actual," as the "condensation of a cloud or as the materialization of ethereal phenomena."[30]

From this relationship we move to place through the lens of Yate's *Art of Memory,* and the operationalization of this relationship of memory and image for the work of memorization through the vehicle of place. Yates describes this practice, whereby images are emplaced in certain imagined spatial locations in the mind of the memorist in order to assist in memorizing a text or set of information; ideas can be attached to images, and images are stored in places. "We have to think of the ancient orator as moving in imagination through this memory *whilst* he is making his speech, drawing from the memorized places the images he has placed on them. The method ensures that the points are remembered in the right order, since the order is fixed by the sequence of places in the building."[31] The mind makes use of images, which are integral to the recollection of memories such that images influence our memories (including memories of place) when they are recalled as well as our current experience of place - an experience that is always informed by images, and their associated memories, from the past. So if images associated with certain places have the demonstrated effect of entering and embedding themselves into the memory, then the power of the relationship between the city and memory cannot be underestimated. This is because the aggregate of spaces that is the city, by its nature, is related to images. Images in the form of signs, iconic structures, evocative spaces, impressions of density, effects of compression and openness, and compositions of color and light and dark pervade our cities. These images are located in places that people move through and experience physically through their senses and their bodies

In this divided city, images are directed, intentional, persuasive, and provocative - designed to incite emotions. Daily life in Nicosia is marked by concrete and symbolic signs of what does or does not belong to Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot space. The center of the city is rife with symbols of the conflict that demarcate the Buffer Zone, and in turn demarcate the conflict in people's imaginations. The edges of the Buffer Zone, and the contiguous areas controlled by the armies on either side of the divide, are littered with flags, graffiti, and various signages. Additionally, to be seen all over the walled city, are literal signs of cooperation that announce "Nicosia Master Plan" projects. Less obvious signs are those that call out the "Berlin

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[29] Ibid., p. 170.
[30] Ricoeur, op.cit. in note 23, p. 52.
[31] Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), p. 3.

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Cafe" and "No Border Underwear", names of private businesses that clearly reference their location near the center of division. The edges of the Buffer Zone, which is still to some extent permeable, are animated by the signs of activity of the residents who live nearby; Turkish children playing on and within the delineating walls, along with endless lines of laundry strung up to dry adjacent to strictly demarcated *Yasak Bölge*, forbidden military areas.

In addition to these symbols, there is the physical infrastructure of division to be found along the edges of the Buffer Zone and in the walled city in general. There are the military and observation structures, manned and unmanned, that have been created to house the armies of the north, the south, and the UN Peacekeepers. Additionally, larger military installations exist inside and along the edges of the Buffer Zone, mainly consisting of formerly private properties now taken over by the armies. The edges of the restricted areas are demarcated by a varied composition of walls, fences, sand bags, oil barrels, and empty buildings. There are forgotten pockets along these edges; scars on a landscape of conflict can still be seen along with tunnels and trenches long abandoned. In short, there is an entire vocabulary of visual symbols to be found along the Buffer Zone, symbols that propagate the memory of division for the city's residents. These images - the natural manifestations of the conflict as well as the images inserted into place by the state authorities, the UN, and the NMP - also affect memory. These images, located in places in the city, are part of a directed 'art of memory' - adhering in the memories of those moving through the city. Here we can extrapolate from Michael Billig's thesis of *banal nationalism* which "operates with routine words…that offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland," to this discussion of the walled city where images that mark out territory operate in the same way as these 'prosaic words.'[32]

There is a difference between memory on the outside - where the walls are remembered as a symbol - and memory on the inside - where memory is affected by the modulations of memory that exist inside of these walls. These modulations affect the memory in terms of movement, which is important because it is related to the body - central to all memory. These modulations also enter memory as emplaced images. All of these characteristics and representations are symptoms of the overall division of the city and the island. This division and the representations that maintain its position in the common imagination cannot be confined just to this gash, but rather, they leak out and color the entirety of the walled city, perpetually expressing the lived experience of conflict. These symbols have become one of the main components of the memory of the city for a generation that has never experienced the unified city and the spaces of cooperation and

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[32] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage Publications, 1995), p. 93.

coexistence along Ermou Street, now inaccessible in the Buffer Zone, but once the commercial center of the city used by all; filling in the gaps between the generational memory they have inherited[33]

Conclusion

This paper has argued that this is a crucial time for memory in Cyprus. With the opening of the borders also came a reopening of partially closed doors of memory for some Cypriots. Memory is never static, and involves a constant negotiation between what is remembered and what is forgotten. This paper has attempted to demonstrate that there is a crucial link between the memories of the conflict and changes in Cyprus from the 1950s onwards, as well as Cypriot attitudes towards the city. The walled city exhibits both the dynamics of remembering and forgetting in the uses and populations that inhabit the city today, as well as the use of the walls as a symbol in a variety of contexts. The old city, encircled by its Venetian Walls, is thus both a center and a void of memory. Memory being always elusive of concrete definitions, the walled city confronts us with the fact that memory is divided in many different ways, including the difference between symbolic constructions of memory from the outside and memory from the inside, or the lived experience of moving through the city. Here body memory and the acute exposure to images and symbols of conflict, division, and demarcation continue to influence memory.

Although knowledge and experience of the reality of the places inside of the walls is absent for many Cypriots, this absence still has a resonance. It must be pointed out that absence as well has the powerful ability to define material and influence perception. The unique topography of Nicosia's city center, contained within this shell, contributes to its iconic position in memory. Originally a structure of fortification and protection, these walls now serve to isolate and divide the center from the rest of the city. This dense and thick mat of memory that is the old city is encircled by these walls, which act as a container, holding a range of memories in this one particular place. It has become the default location for memories that people choose not to deal with, giving form to that which is invisible in other parts of the city. Here the ignored, the uncomfortable, and the forgotten find expression, but can be conveniently forgotten by those who chose not to enter the walls.

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[33] See Maurice Halbwachs, "Collective Memory", in Lewis A. Coser (ed.) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) for a discussion of generational memory and Aleida Assmann, "Transformations Between History and Memory", *Social Research* (Vol. 75, No. 1, 2006), pp. 49-72, for a discussion of communicative memory.